/12 cont./

133 all this contour, closed at the S. by formidable masses, the barrier never descends below 2,000 meters: a well-delimited caisson which, to the S. of Imintanout, the Urkus finishes blocking up. It is only toward the N.-E., after the massif of the Tamejlocht, on the side of the Dwiran, that the plateaus of the Imlilen come to raise a cliff on the calcareous entablatures, the Waffagga. On this side, access is easy to the shallow basins of the high Dwiran, Tissekht, Aduz. Here one is within the confines.

What impression is to be drawn from this delimitation of the Seksawa country? First of all, that of its orientation from N. to S., orthogonic in relation to the chain of the Atlas. Hence the importance of the slope. Orographic levels, vegetation horizons, degrees of distance from the plain and from the central power, progression of the montagnard particularism: all that contributes to a simple gradation starting from the outlet of Bulᶜwān (740 meters to the ford of the route from Marrakech), up to the highest
133 villages (1,900 meters to Wawnsawt). This firmness of contour
● 181 will permit, in favorable circumstances, a life /13/ of the whole well defended from the outside. But by no title will it form a natural limit toward the S.: it is from there that all the modern
[443] existence of the Seksawa has come. And certainly, it will be superfluous to say here that these peaks, cut by cols, never create an obstacle between montagnards, even to the weekly relations of a souq /sook/; it is what one indeed sees in our day with the frequentation, by the Idaw Geryun, of the market of the Imed-
[57] lawen. In addition, an important part of the activity of these populations lies precisely in the brokerage of the cols and in an intense circulation, though difficult, dangerous, and involving a whole context of agreements between groups, and scarcely of individual initiation. The barrier is a conventional obstacle. For others, never for oneself, and only when one wishes it.

It is true that several times in their history, and for long periods, the Seksawa have desired this isolation.

/27 cont./

241 torrent: ghwan izri, nezdagh nokni, "it passes and we remain" (1).

1. Adage of the a. Lh'sen, who are in fact the ones who have best colonized their asif.

Strong maxim from an excess of courage. Through that, life is exalted, toils, and from time to time feasts miserably.

• 181 /28/ Because this life, so hard, has its flashes. A vigilant briskness animates it. No nonchalance here, none of this languor of the Atlantic plains, doubly influenced by the mildness of the air and the Bedouin fatalities. Everything in these mountains is harsh, contrasted, vigorous. Everywhere, corners and recesses delicately washed out, the depths of valleys chiseled by a hoe, a country cut into vales and cantons. As many signs of man, of a spirit with strong passions, with a patience no less strong. The Atlas is, as one has seen, botanically a Mediterranean island, isolated and anachronistic. It will not prejudge the rest of this study to say already that a certain history and certain social structures would conspire with this aspect of the country so that in the encirclement of the South a destiny apart was assumed.

/29/

III. Concerning the Men

The House (1)

361 342 113

1. On the house of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, p. 4 sq., Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 41 sq.; plates and captions in Villages et kasbahs berbères /Berber villages and casbahs/, 1930, pp. 5 sq.; J. Dresch and J. de Lepinay, Le

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

133 A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
101 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
634 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
361 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
619 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

173 The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
101 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
634 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
619 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
[538] Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of
[613] substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five ikhs-s
[312] interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

634 The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
184 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
619 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
• [181] taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgur-
zatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collec-
tive agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important be-
cause of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison be-
tween a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

619 Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain
634
101 This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
175 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
181 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
[166]

[Idma]

/46 cont./

remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded. It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili, at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu. It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there. A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in
the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two ex-
treme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is nec-
essary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen.
Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could esti-
mate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In mod-
em times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
634 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-opta-
619 tion, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of
the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tena-
cious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in
charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
634 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
131 symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.
To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
133 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, be-
101 tween which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
634 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
619 the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who
looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three
valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate:
the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 182 634 619 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a richness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 361 619 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the [128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 101 634 [130] [233] [243] Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340 meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Ait Musa]

619 /53 cont./
634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims /54/
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 60
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the small basin which displays in this relief its enviable esplanade.
634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, they
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to ad-
619 vantage by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This
[631] unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The last of the chiefs, the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. Lamentable history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the leagues does not outlive such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next, become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
[426] usurious lender, trades from her asqqif with his conquerors from above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In
[181] brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistose
634 walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins. At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Talïint. This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a blow of the cane of Sidi Mḥand u Abderrah'man. In fact, it has more water than the basin of Tabratjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abya and Igernssuq.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, following the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

[Ait Abdella]

/56 cont./

634 It is from this threshold that conquerors and explorers depart,
•181 Brives among others, who needed the safe-conduct of an amghar of Tuz'z'umt to be able to go up the valley. Every-
619 thing here is milder, duller. The constructions do not scorn the pisé characteristic of the Haouz. In bourgeois fashion, one of them even rears walls plastered and limed: a unique exception in Seksawa. In any case it is in this canton that erosion has most profoundly marked the mores. For a very long time, it seems, its function has been the same one that we still discern for it: to penetrate and control the upstream for the benefit of the downstream. The alluvium of a history, which is not only that of the free taqbilt-s, but is amplified to the extent of names such as the one of the Mérinides, is still distinguished here. From the confluent of the asif n-a. Lh'sen up to Tagoyyamt, place of commercial passage and of dynastic conflicts, it is a succession of monumental ruins.

133 From the a. Wagenna ("sons of the sky") downstream, the
634 bed of the river spreads out. The bank, all in steep fallen rocks
(241) on the right, goes up by degrees on the left. Braving the freshets, risky crops cling to even the gravel and sand of the bottom. A very small epaulement on the left; and this is a floor of gardens: the "out-orchard" Berra n-rryat' of Tuz'z'umt, the "background" Luljt of Illutjan, the Talmerkht of Bulᶜwân. All of it periodically
(312) ravaged. From this section of the bed radiate the great séguias /water conduits/ of the plain: Tagharro, Taẓzzuzt, Tassebâit, Talh'archt. Two or three permanent springs gush up on the left of the talus, which support a second or a third tier of crops. These last planes are spacious and covered with trees in homogeneous masses: olive trees below, almond trees above. The slope of the river here is very gentle. Resurgences stagnate under the populations of laurels and tillirin, in what the habitués recognize as an "odor of paludism."

241 /57/ At Tuz'z'umt, the entresol of vegetation is spread out just as magnificently as the illiberal perspective of the country can have it: a veritable small plain covered with an old, but
(312) luxuriant olive grove with intercalated crops. A double water

[Ait Abdella]
[Ibubanen]

619 /66 cont./

Tuz'z'umt
- Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas).
- a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghba, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Chcheikh H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Si Mh'and of Bulᶜwân.
- a. Wanz'id' (high a. Lh'sen, descendants of Sidi Musa).
- a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira).
- a. Mançur (Dwiran).
- a. Burjal (Dwiran).

Agawz
- a. Buâbila (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
- a. Lqçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
- a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
- a. Lihran (same origin as the a. Lqaid).

Tiburin, Imi n-tghli
- Regraga "marabouts."
- Ih'naychen (Dwiran).
- a. Kawsir (Dwiran).
- a. Jâa (Dwiran).
- a. H'med (Dwiran).
- a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran).
- a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran).
- a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 /67/ Third Case

634 /In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a disinherited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Abuban, fem.: Tabubant (in the Arab documents, form: al-Bubânî), occupants of high declivities between the Amudder and the Ameznir. A country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type from the very first contrasts with the unconstrained demeanor, the

[Ibubanən]

619
634
[142]
[181]
[173]

/67 cont./
pink tint, the plotters' expression of the a. Lh'sen, as well as with the cunning vitality of the Idma. Dirty because of the lack of water, unsightly and feeble, they are decadents. Among their heteroclite elements, a synthesis nevertheless seems to have played a role. The legend exhibits all the details of a history indefinitely suppressed.

634
184
101
619

1) Some blacks, grouped at the foot of a hill with the significant name Awrir i-ysemgan, had their village destroyed by the immigrant Dukkâla (1).

1. At this moment the Bani Mâger, who are Maçmûda, are being driven away from the North bank of the Tensift, Sour. in Port., t. I, pp. 136, No. 2 and 193, n. 1. The present group of the Al Chichâwa, grouping Berbérophones separated by the Ud Bessebâ from the Chleuh /Shluh/ mass of the Atlas, presents some embarrassing questions, but its existence doubtlessly forms "a bridge" between the Atlas and the more northerly Maçmûda populations, who have now disappeared through migration or Arabization.

[648]

Some of them took refuge in a. Âbdella, at Talat u Qyar. The rest remained at Tugg Lkheyr; they are the present ait Bumellut', miserable remains, excluded from the distribution of the ground. They live mixed with two a. Lh'sen ikhs-s: remnant of former occupants, forced guests; they are in fact in a state of submission to the a. Lh'sen.

[628]

People of aberrant origin, like the ait Abbo of Timskert, living without communication with the others, or like the Inaghayn of Talburt, related to the a. Msseddat of the Tabgurt and struck by a saint's curse, vegetate, without ever exceeding three or four foyers.

[Ait Gasa]
[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./

175 centuries, to the law of the a. Gasa. And the latter were per-
174 haps finally defeated only because they had disregarded the
619 legitimacy of this land.

The Achievement of the Ait Lh'sen

173 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ The a. Lh'sen are Tekna, originally from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. They belonged to the Azwâfid', mythical descendants of the eponym ᶜUthmân b. Menda, Almoravide caliph of ᶜAbd Allah b. Yâsîn. Note that there are still some a. Lh'sen among the Tekna. The Tekna, moreover, are Iguzulen, which corresponds to what the a. Lh'sen are: the only Imsifern of the Seksawa (1).

1. V. Monteil, Notes sur les Tękna /Notes on the Tekna/, 1948, p. 13; Justinard, op. laud., at n. 2, p. 68.

La Chapelle (2)

2. In his remarkable Exploration inédite /unpublished Exploration/.

mentions another origin, perhaps, however, intermediate: the a. Lh'sen u. Brahim of the South versant (above Talekjunt and the Mentaga). According to local tradition, the a. Lh'sen would have descended from one Musa, who had two sons: Daud and Mençur.

619 This bipartite classification still functions in the matter of
634 cojuratio. The unity of the a. Lh'sen is great. Their purity,
[176] guaranteed by their patron Sidi Ah'med u Ali, they say, is ex-
• [181] treme. Also the rules for the distribution of land are imposed here with a particular vigor. The whole ensemble is still young, vigorous, conquering. It is divided as follows:

173 /89 cont./ we have often borrowed. We would find similar ones outside of the Seksawa: for example, in Mez'ud'a, in Mtugga, to restrict ourselves to only immediate neighbors. The existence of such annals reveals a character of the country more profound than its propensity for heroic destinies.

In this country, individuals mark /Fr. marquent, mark, stamp, indicate, testify/, things happen. As paradoxical as the observation may appear, it is not so common in the past of North Africa. Let us understand that here the event leaves its trace in a collective memory. It does or does not utilize writing. In any case, it fixes something much more precise than the simple continuity from generation to generation. /90/ These memories, [538] conscious and detailed, full of imagery and dramatic, even flour- [171] ish in the literature. For one who has visited other populations, those of the Gharb, for example, what a surprise! In this world of the Atlas, society has a feeling of its own duration. It punctuates its past with victories and vicissitudes. The permanence of family archives depends on the constancy of the group chronicles, from which great figures naturally stand out.

631 These chiefs are temporal chiefs. Not the least attribution in the Frazerian manner. No "kings," but an intendant, a captain, an administrator. This milieu practices the separation of powers. Elsewhere, perhaps, or in other times, dynasties of "marabouts" claimed a mystic efficiency: in origin at least, for the action very soon became profane. Here, on the contrary, in what might [671] be called the public law, both between taqbilt-s and within any [179] one among them, the relation between the sacred and the secular is determined by sharing and contracts, not by confusing one with the other. The aptitude of these societies to record their pasts is explained. No longer does patriarchal indivision reign over individual and community activities, but a careful demarcation; the continuance of the group does not vanish in fleeting perspectives: ancestor saints or golden age. But at all stages the same ● 181 careful little man is discovered, capable of virtues and subject to the weaknesses of his distant descendants. Individual differentiation, demarcation between the person and the community, the

/90 cont./

181 sacred and the profane, aptitude for history: these four characteristics are correlative.

631 Thus, then, the power of the leaders is completely temporal. It proceeds from the consensus of assemblies, which one occasionally sees meeting with a first appearance of constitutional regularity with periodic comitia, holy places, fixed procedure, etc. It is also by contractual routes, but from which he tries little by little to break away, that the chief becomes greater. He arrogates to [661] himself more than his share of the spoils of the vanquished at the time of distributions of booty. He enlarges his lands through deceit and pressure. It is especially in this landed-property aspect that his citizens see him advance. They are sensitive to it, for it injures their material interests, but also shocks their conception of legitimacy. Deprived of popular assent, the chief tends to become a tyrant. Not without revengeful onslaughts of the jemâa-s, each time that defeat or death weakens his work. Thus tyranny appears as a phenomenon of voracity, of expansion, archaic form of economic concentration. And it stirs up reactions, of which a number of documents are the echo.

/91/ This said, is it not strange that this phenomenon is reproduced at different times, with the same characteristics? For example, the Imt'ddan had their great amghar, whose power projected over the Dwiran, indeed, over the Indmaghus: Bwizugman. It is he who achieved the driving back of the a. Gasa, started more than a century before. The Idma, too, near the end of the eighteenth century, had Lh'ŝjj Bujmâ, who monopolized the lands of the valley, until the plague killed him and the community got rid of his sons.

Such expansions, one will see, discover their limits in the [423] landed-property customs and the mechanisms of local law. Thus [428] they cannot go very far. Often tradition mentions such a great personage, amghar or other, spread broadly over his landed estates, but who dies without male descendants: everything returns to the collective regulation. Such was the case of Bwizugman, and such also the one of another rich man of the high a. Âbdella. These silhouettes of great chiefs are not rare. Over the

[Ibuban]
[Imt'ddan]

/209 cont./

182 On the other hand, this driven-back economy has sought in a very instructive fashion to survive: it is an albur /see p. 38/ island in the mountains, an island in dry mountains, a corner, one might say, of the Anti-Atlas. An equilibrium has been sought, not in the obstinate hydraulic work, because there is no water, but in the nonchalant exploitation of the almond tree and the opuntia. In sum, recourse to the harvest. Correlatively, the rhythm of life here is much less active than in the neighboring
181 valleys. Long chats in the /210/ sun, on the plaza of the timezgida, inertia and routine have deeply tarnished the local character. To that are added other characteristics, resulting from history, and the ensemble of which makes up a physiognomy of decadence. The communal order does not completely govern the division of the ground. The pasturage is appropriated. The absence of irrigation resources has driven this mountain population to a steppe culture. It is doubtlessly not by chance that, contrary to the atmosphere of the other cantons, inequality should have arisen from the inclemency of the conditions of life. This poor canton contains several "rich ones" and is still today, by an apparent paradox, the one that provides some of the biggest shares of the tax. Poverty and defeat here have broken up the communal order based on equality and obstinacy, and these miseries are only incompletely compensated for by the mysterious agricultural power of the "old people."

...F. Imt'ddan

613 [634] [166] The 4 Imt'ddan ikhs-s have swarmed from a metropolis, the present Tamt'ddit, to spread over a vast canton. Territorial expansion and social segmentation go hand in hand. Still today the tie between people and groups is by no means that of habitat by villages, but that of classification in one or another of the ikhs-s of origin. Nevertheless, the proliferation of the latter is starting to obscure the consciousness of the ensemble, and at the outset unanimity on the balance of the present subdivisions is no longer to be had.

[Bul^{c}wân]

/212 cont./

133 beyond this agadir l-Lmkhzen, an agadir n-Lkhizzo, "of the car-
172 rot," on the left cliff of the river. At the same height, the so-called cemetery of sidi ^{c}Oqba: rrawd'a n-^{c}Oqbt, where the tradition of the great Arab conqueror survives in memory; it conceals several tombs attributed to Regraga. Nearly opposite, overhanging the right bank, an Agadir i-yghd, "of the ashes." It was formerly occupied by the a. Mughrum, that is, the ancestors of the 4 present ikhs-s: Ichkajen, a. Bujmâ, a. Bihi u Saïd, a. Belh'ajj. It is sidi Ghânem, founding and pacifying saint, who supposedly transferred them to the left bank. The very emplacement of the village conceals two former agadir-s: a. Aqdim and a. Lejdid, on the remains of which is built the house of the present amghar. Finally, beneath the fields and the orchards of Bul^{c}wân are discerned, at the place significantly called Ikorkar, "the piles of flints," long trails of stone still indicating a vast quadrangular enceinte. These stones were obviously brought in: pebbles from the river, or paving stones of hard rock without any doubt conveyed from afar.

A little farther upstream, Ilutjan is dominated by one Tigemmi n-Twurirt, "a house of the hill," for which local tradition still knows the former role of shelter. This abundance of refuges of classical type, similar to those of the Mez'ud'a cliff, but much older, invites the hypothesis of a stage where an important agricultural ground, and not by any means merely of the a. Abdella, but of the ensemble of the Seksawa, was spread in the plain. This archeological layer has been covered by another, its rival and destroyer, the Mérinide layer. But, in most cases, it is no longer possible to distinguish between the one and the other. The improbability of discovering without excavations which of the two enceintes corresponds to the Mérinide fortress does not entail any hesitation as to the character that they imprint on the landscape and which we observe down to the incidences of detail in the rural
● 181 economy. Whatever the identification hypotheses may be, the valley has been bolted since an ancient epoch, and consequently the complex differentiation that contrasts in type the downstream from the upstream, and makes the whole country of Bul^{c}wân

[Bul^{c}wân]

/212 cont./

181 a transition /213/ between the mountain culture and the plains culture, is duplicated there by a political threshold. Politics has almost immediate effects on the Maghrebi structures. Power is, in different respects, an economic phenomenon. It entails rapid and visible consequences on the landscape: either by the elimination of the little ones, or -- and the case is frequent in the South of Morocco -- by aspects of systematic valorization: plantings, for example.

245 In fact, the grounds of Bul^{c}wân and of Taqennurt present in their lower part beautiful and old checkerworks of olive trees, under which are cultivated intercalary crops. It is the formula of the "park" or of the "closed garden," agellay. Above the denivellation that the Talh'archt channel follows, almond trees are similarly massed. This division by "wooded masses," which one also characteristically finds again upstream, at Tuz'z'umt, a. Wagenna, etc., undoubtedly does not correspond solely to agronomic opportunities. It is true that the olive tree requires more water and an alluvial ground, while the almond tree, on the contrary, puts up with dryness and stones if necessary. But even more this divison of species obeys a rural order, more and more perfect types of which are found in Seksawa as one approaches the high mountains. What makes one think of a regalian influence in the formation of the olive plantation is its homogeneity, which undoubtedly shows an initially controlled effort, and its regular growth. One might make the same verifications in Nfifa at Imintanout, in Mtugga at Kuzemt. For this last planting, we perhaps shall get to localize it in history. But what is to be said about the olive plantations of Taroudant or of El Kelâa?

a) Fuq Bul^{c}wân

241 311 [103] A few figures: about 2,000 olive trees and 5,000 almond trees. Irrigated autumn crops: barley 20 ha., hard wheat 6 ha., soft wheat 2 ha. Spring crops (but without rotation order): maize 12 ha. This plaque of about 30 ha. is divided into quarters, that is, from upstream to downstream: Talilit, Ikorkar, Dar

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.

423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
[805] ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[312] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[592] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.

182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
[671] ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[421] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

/228 cont./

121 and which would call for irrelevant quantitative comparisons,
423 one nevertheless suspects, in the limited cadre of the western Haut-Atlas, great inequalities between grounds. Consequently, have we not risked basing our description excessively on the limited case of the irrigated ravine, while other aspects, visually broader, also decisive economically, likewise call for analysis? /229/ And, on the other hand, what inexactitude would there not have been in imagining that the montagnard reality presents itself everywhere with equal rigor!

Phenomena of erosion or of disuse can, even in the irrigated, bring on the collapse of the system. Above all, it is the juridical inextricability, itself resulting from a weakening of the communitarian life: in the complexity of the old gentilitial formula the
[178] young generations were no longer met with again. Weary of war, a jemâa agreement substitutes, for the former devolution of water by ikhs, a watering by contiguous pieces.

But beside this factor of more or less great integrity of the montagnard type, another, doubtlessly of major importance, intervenes: its degree of spread in space.

423 If one turns one's attention from the valley land in order to
184 put it on the high surfaces for rye, for example, one finds that
243 two essential elements are missing for verifying the structural rule
[312] that we have defined: no division of time into turns for water,
[181] and for reason; and fewer minutiae in the toponyms. The life of the heights is less willing, less refined, looser. The simultaneous
[613] implantation of all the ikhs-s is more theoretical than real. For
[492] this agriculture, distant from the village, requires means of transport, the harness or at the very least the beast of burden. It is not within the reach of all. Not all risk it. It is an agriculture of representative ambitious ones, not of egalitarian citizens. Operating in a social milieu less finely innervated, if I may venture to say it, deprived of this permanent exercise of will and equilibrium, and also of this measure of time that irrigation constitutes, it correlatively puts up with a haziness of the law and a haziness of the techniques: irregular fallowings, returns to wasteland, abandonment of an overly poor harvest, submission to the hazards of the snowfall and of the pluviometry.

/237 cont./
778 about whom a marabout from the S. said to the Sultan in 1882:
776 "They do not want their people to be oppressed" (2).

2. Lieut.-colonel Justinard, Les Ait Ba ᶜAmran /The Ait Ba ᶜAmran/, 1930, p. 106.

181 A closely guarded isolation, vaguely supernatural, has not /238/ failed to react on the physiognomy traditionally attributed to the people and to the site of the valley. This was done in a double sense, according to the very ambiguity of this sort of idea. Cheats, pagans, frauds, and magicians -- the Seksawa are seen as such by their montagnard neighbors, who differ from them pro-
[184] foundly. How their personality contrasts with that, less rich and less intense, also less redoubtable, of the Dwiran, the Demsira, or the Nfifa! The analysis perhaps fails to account for such-and-
[167] such a peculiarity, but the fact is there. Waves of emigrants from the Anti-Atlas and the Sous were able to penetrate the Seksawa, to remake them from within, without succeeding in modifying a character that one is therefore led to link, not to such-and-such an ethnic composition, but to a people's personality and to a country's vocation. Only what is to be understood by these words?

Ritual Coloration of the Valley

175 In the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldûn echoed the disquieting, but suggestive rumors concerning the Seksawa chefferie /military district/ of his time (1).

1. We have translated this passage integrally in our "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 387 sq.

In the eighteenth, under the pen of a scholar curiously archeologist, the chronicle of the marabout of Tasaft evokes traits of the

776 /239 cont./
823 to its sites, to its history, and, even more concretely, to its soil (1).

[172] 1. Often linked to the existence of grottoes, ruins, etc. H. Basset, Le Culte des grottes au Maroc /The Cult of the Grottoes in Morocco/, 1920, pp. 96 sq., on "the psychology" of the genii, "these neighbors of a very special genre."

[151] When, at the end of the last century, a man from the Seksawa left his country, he carried with him a powder composed of a handful of native soil and some of its herbs. He would have taken neither food nor drink abroad without throwing in it a pinch of the mixture.

● 181 A very "ancient" country, in fact, and with an individuality attested to for some eight centuries by the written sources themselves, which restore, from the Almohades to the twentieth century, the permanence of a name and of an autonomy. And undoubtedly also of a tradition and of a legitimacy, even though obliterated by decadence, and having become little by little indecipherable, at least to the foreigner. They are inferred, however, from facts of observation. In those societies with a tumultuous past, a theme of territorial authenticity persists. How is this joined with another theme, much more current, that of the genealogical fictions of groups? No attempt will be made to elucidate this for the moment. Our study of the one or of the several social psychologies in the Maghreb is still too little advanced for one to be able to do anything here other than to suggest.

"Evil country," "venerable country": the doublet reveals a strong magico-religious tenor. But we have been lead to circumscribe the part of magic in its agricultural life. And, on the other hand, the personifications of the sacred prove to be most restricted there. The system shows great morphological vigor and at the same time a certain poverty of myths. Two correlative traits without doubt.

/272 cont./

Directions, Areas, and Cycles

796 It is not that the narrowly particularized life of the canton is
794 not linked with the whole space of the Sous, of the Drâ, of the
619 Anti-Atlas. Mystical sutures link, without one's always being able to explain how, or why, the domain of the Seksawa with the
• [181] vast world of the South. Isolationists through their history, they have remained, for the hagiology, in contact with the outside. Let us note, this outside is solely the South. The matter is so marked that at the heart of a particular cycle, that of Sidi Sâid u Âbdennâim, their fervor has abandoned the father, man of the North and of the West, in order to be attached to the son, who has his sanctuary in the a. Tamment on a tributary of the right bank of the Sous.

796 These devotions are not unilateral. A saint of the Seksawa,
794 that of Assttif, has his descendants benefit from definite dues, or, more broadly, from discretionary offerings in the surrounding tribes. Especially the ones of what one can call the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 /The next three paragraphs are in small type in the original
484 source./ This marabout of course does not enjoy a cens in his own taqbilt of the Idma: he is only an importer of currency, we might say. He collects a cens from the a. Wagunsan, the Idaw Kais, the Idaw Mçat't'og, /273/ part of the Imdlawen, of the Tigguga, of the a. H'adduyws, of the a. Gasa, of the a. Tkssit, of the Imlwan, of the Iwensekten, of the Amismatert, of the a. Gâyer, of the a. Lh'sen, of the Sekrat and of Iguntar. Let us follow him on one of his annual trips. At the Mîlâd he goes to the zaouia of the Derqâwa of Araz'z'en in Arghen — the fatherland of Ibn Toumert — passing by the sanctuary of sidi Âbdallah u Sâid. In January he travels through the a. Semmeg, makes a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sidi Bubker u Mh'and at Tirk (Amzel). In March he circulates on the S. reverse of the Tichka. Then there he is
527 in Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa, Aghbar, Ogdemt. The perimeter of attraction is vast: strange thing, there is no mârûf at the zaouia. The latter has remained outside of the movement which, around

/273 cont./

796 (H'âh'a). Imintanout, which constitutes, at the outlet of the col,
794 the turntable for all this hagiology, knows two directions: that of the South with the Nâçirî, and that of the East with the saint of Tameçloh't.

Second aspect: that of the more or less great density of the bonds. Of all the Mtugga, only the Intamlin, and nothing but a
[181] part /274/ among them, serve a foreign saint. The haughty independence of the tribe thus manifests itself again in that (1).

[175]

1. Has it been thus at every epoch? The western part of the tribe seems, in the sixteenth century, to have participated actively in the jihâd. Cénival identifies at Tamalukt the Culeihat el-Muridin of Léon, Sour in., Port., t. I, p. 765, n. 1. Besides, one of the near successors of al-Janûnî, ᶜAbd al-Karîm b. ᶜUmar al-Fallâh', is called at-Tikkî at the same time as al-H'âh'î, Mumtiᶜ al-asmâᶜ, 1305, p. 45, l. 2 de fine. The ritual personality of a group therefore varies not only with its morphology, but also with its history. But we are only rarely equipped to follow these relations with sufficient precision.

Inversely, among the Seksawa, the people of Sekrat make use of all the patronages possible, local and outside, and set the price on it. They have vowed no less than "twelve Fridays of butter" to
[634] various saints. In a general fashion the principal concern of the
[619] Seksawa bears on their cantonal saints, and evidently on the national saint in particular, whose cult reacts on all the rest of their ritual life.

792 But if there is tribal stiffness or particularism, there is also
[794] participation in vast hagiological areas which imperious silhou-
[184] ettes dominate. These are, it seems, two strongly contrasting

/279 cont./

794 and the sacred that such a system reveals. The conjugation of the old propitiatory or purificatory practices, the archaic climate of squandering and feasting are united here in exact accountable preoccupations. Veritable grocery store of the sacred.

Critique of These First Data

794 Thus one characteristic of this stage of religious and juridical
796 institutions among the Seksawa becomes clear. The patronage of
182 the saints puts into play a solidarity among the group life, the rhythms of nature, and the ritual calendar. The passage from one to the other of these three ideas is constant. Even passage from the statute governing the relations of the group with its protector to the deliberate initiative of conventions with other saints. The
794 auctions for the sale of sacrificial meat, the emulation which re-
182 sults, the term obligation to which the purchaser agrees partake of the most communitarian rite and of the most individual contract all at once. In these forms of synthesis, in these moments of village exuberance, linked to the life of the seasons and to the manifestations of the sacred, are freed the forces which go at the same time to maintain and to validate the juridical obligation.
181 But the latter, at this very stage of religious, agrarian, and communal correspondences, already presents itself clothed in specific characteristics which are its own in the culture of the Chleuhs /Shluh/: acquisitive sharpness, contractual individualism, communal publicity. And these characteristics have already reacted on what one can presume to be an /280/ "old" foundation. As we have noted, this foundation no longer appears except in unequal and incoherent fashion, by fragments and survivals. Syntheses exert themselves on the local plane. They are constructive and distorting. In them resides the originality of the milieu, while the more archaic facts that one distinguishes on the traverse are rather amenable to a North African generality.

182 At this stage imperious necessities of equilibrium and of local ordering, a systematization smitten with dosage and

/306 cont./

776 The figure that results is sometimes that of a pedant, some-
823 times that of a maker of springs. The traits that are ascribed to
[789] him in this sense are numerous. The waters of Meghdir, T'abya,
ait Wardas, Usikis, Iggayzen, Wanz'id', Lâwina of Sidi Ah'med
u Ali are attributed to his miracles. Finally the source of the
Amerdul on the Tabgurt, famous for the difficult regulations of
irrigation between high-mountain villages, is attributed to him.
776 Letters and hydraulics, there are two specialties well adapted to
the milieu. So well adapted that they are merged in the moral
climate of the country, without a personal visage emerging from
it. Here one again joins the stream of rural saints, whose type
sidi Mh'and embodies.

776 But, a striking thing, he is practically the only one to em-
184 body it among the Seksawa, whom an originality very clearly
619 contrasts, on this plane, to the neighboring groups. Among the
Demsira, for example, the figures of classic Maghrebi saints
776 abound. Here is sidi Nâçer of Tamarwut, who, patient husband
184 of a quarrelsome wife, employs lions as forest workers to fell for
619 him and to tie up his wood for him. Again lions serve as mounts
825 for two doctors of Maâred'. And sidi Mh'and b. Abdelkrim who,
again by lions, had his maize threshed! Only lions, the profane
will say! But the fact is that their name, figured iz'mawn in the
plural, designates properly the powers of the man of God. It is in
this way that one speaks of the "lions of sidi Ah'med u Musa"; the
term enters the lexicon of popular doctrine. We found it again in
776 the topography of the a. Musa. Again in Demsira, sidi Brahim
184 n-ait Lqad'i instructs the most redoubtable spirits in the forest.
619 Sidi Lah'sen b. Moh'ammed of Iregh drove away birds and rodents,
so harmful to the crops. The Seksawa hagiology, imperiously
centralized on one heroine, Lalla Aziza, appears dryer, more
organized. In this not very exploitable domain of comparisons be-
tween tribes, it is necessary to stop here with an impression, which
only a monographic investigation of this part of the Atlas will be
[181] able to infirm or confirm. If it were verified, this trait would re-
join a certain /307/ number of others to make up for the Seksawa
the original physiognomy that one perceives in them, without al-
ways being able to define it.

792 /315 cont./
keeps its name: si Muh'ammad Uzinit', such is the name under which the I'lâm registers him (1).

1. ʿAbbâs b. Ibrâhîm, al-'I'lâm bi-man h'alla Marrâkuch, t. V, 1939, p. 307.

And in the same region, if we go a little beyond the cadre of the Seksawa, the case is not isolated. The barbarous a. Mh'and u [181] Musa have indeed maintained a "cadi" Ulwâh', famous doctor, [693] a great one in jurisprudence (2).

2. Al-h'afîz' al-Fâsî, Riyâd' al-Jinna, t. I, 1932, p. 58.

Let us pass on from phenomena of this nature, naturally more abundant in the Dir, and these moraines of zaouias and médersas that border the mountains. It is rather, in spite of the difficulty that the distance of these figures in time creates, on the side of the great jurists and great saints of the South, all coming from the most personal, the most confined corners of the Atlas, a Suktânî, a ʿAbbâsî, a Nâçirî, a Tamanârtî, tens of Samlâlî, and still so many others, that it would be necessary to orient the analysis. Such an investigation of "literary history," as Renan would have said, would indeed be of interest. It could cast useful light on the cultural history of the Moroccan South, so poorly known up to now. But it is better to give it up out of qualms for precision, or rather localization.

212 794 More directly observable, if not more decipherable, is the t't'aleb of yesterday, today, and always. We shall again see his silhouette appear when studying the juridical structures of the milieu: there, too, his role is important. For the moment we shall interest ourselves only in his spiritual role. He has, of course, a wholly /316/ orthodox side: the periodical recitation of the Book and the "attachment," mulâzama, to the communal sanctuary. But his heterodox aspect is even greater. The psalmody of the great texts, the handling of the dangerous thing

/343 cont./

584 191 114 /footnote 1 continued/ according to de Ligniville. G. Marcy, Le droit coutumier Zemmour /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, too quickly ranks under the name of tiddukla, "compagnonnage" /Fr. compagnonnage, time of service as journeyman after apprenticeship/, some traits of this sort (p. 7). Same reproach to be made concerning his discussion of the theory of H. Basset, drawn from the uniformity of the alig in a. Sadden, a. Warain, a. Seghruchen, B. Mgild, Zayân, etc. (pp. 8 sq. and 9, n. 4).

584 171 renders rather inconclusive in the case at hand.

581 What is undeniable, on the contrary, is that the Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage /344/ is a society of egalitarian production (1),

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, 881 sq., and notes. Nothing more instructive than the difficulty of the orthodox jurist in order to justify the aberrant solutions of the milieu.

where each rightful claimant, women included, contributes his capital and his work. The capital of the woman is the jihaz, and her share of acquests, the tizzla. Nothing similar in Arab countries. 581 171 At Fès /Fez/, for example, the mores indeed force a bourgeois who is marrying off his daughter to give her a "marriage settlement," called chuwâr or taʃhîz, of an amount equal to double the part of the ṣadâq paid immediately. But this is a sumptuary liberality which turns round as a threat of forfeiture in case of repudiation. Assuredly not, as in the Sous, a society that [181] invests itself. Ostentatious economics and tension between great families, such is the climate of Fès; modest and meticulous community of work, such is that of the Sous. The meaning of the practice differs completely from one case to the other, but from the one to the other, it is true, no solution of continuity, and sometimes use of homonyms to designate quite dissimilar forms.

/352 cont./
613 agrarian order, has survived up to us. But on the juridical plane,
671 it has finally suffered, more than the group, from the invasion of the notarial writing. And its contest with the economic chances of the individual still endures, and becomes bitter. If it were ever able — a stage /253/ quite hypothetical — to preside over a form of this society where everything agreed harmoniously around it, ritual autonomy of the patriarchal family, hagiology of ancestors, law of agnatic type, that collapsed long since. One has
[178] the impression that for four centuries at least, in the place of what one can imagine of the ancient ikhs, the society has been undone or, more exactly, redone (1).

[171]

1. These reactions of the group to the gens, sometimes by legislative means, are known in classical Antiquity, where they constitute in short the essential of "reforms" that intervene here and there. Durkheim has profoundly noted it, Ann. soc., t. VI, pp. 324 sq., 373 sq., apropos the Athenian genè and phylaï. We shall return to this idea in our conclusions.

/354/ Land Law

Double Character of This Law

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423
[128] The maintenance of the agnatic group in its landed position will be the central motif of this chapter. But a total liberty of landed-property operations surrounds this motif with a fringe of lesser application or even of contradiction. In extreme cases
423 mobilization and alienation of the land intervene, and put in play
●181 a passionate contractual individualism. This is an important theme of these societies. It interferes with the one, no less important, of communitarian permanence. Both react constantly with each other. Hence contrasts and antitheses, at which a superficial view might stop, but we shall try to see if their

423 /354 cont./
●181 existence is only picturesque chance or corresponds to something historic.

423 829 Two adages, reproduced by the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists, illustrate the two faces of the problem (1).

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, note to §10.

"The field," says as-Suktânî, "is, in the Sous, more essential than the house elsewhere." "Our fields," says an author from the Ammeln, "are our money. Therefore we use them as someone else would use money." How the permanent landowner-foundation of this society can arrive at a completely fiduciary mobility, this is what we are going to try to understand.

423 The space, I mean the irrigated and valorized space in which this life moves, is madly exiguous. Figures have been given that would illustrate to the eyes of the economist the fundamental futility of it: something like a humanity upon flower pots! But
423 166 167 174 this very unsufficiency seems to have at all times contributed, along with other factors, to the practice of emigration. Departures, seasonal or for a longer term, descents, coastal or deep-sea, if I may venture to say it, to the plain, desertion before famine or sickness, evacuation before the enemy, movements provoked by distress or aggressiveness: quite an intense vibration of groups and individuals is to be divined in the past. Whence these still /355/ identifiable deposits left by layers of vanished populations: a. H'ogg^{w}a, a. Ish'aq, a. Gasa in the Moyen /Middle/ and the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. Indications of a violent past, certainly. But
423 425 violence in itself alone does not explain everything. Landed-property legitimacy is irreducible here. The best proof of this is that in the case of military conquest the conqueror himself judges his right insufficient as long as he has not succeeded, by long and difficult negotiations, in consolidating his land expropriation by regular purchase. Here are three examples of this.

/391 cont./

671 the system was dedicated to complication, subtlety, feint. The
178 contribution from the outside became the avowed principle,
177 whereas the indigenous foundation fell back on secrecy and
chicanery. Nevertheless, the ensemble held. It held by the
671 conspiracy of the economy, of a collective psychology, and of
182 the event. It held above all because this society set the communal institution against the external threats and internal dislocation. The commune rebuilt everything that collapsed. This permanent reconstruction alone rendered possible the maintaining of the ensemble in spite of so many incongruities.

182 Only the commune fashioned the synthesis. And it is precisely in its most conscious form, most modern to our eyes, the most striking by its democratic and laic character, in these deliberations by the group on its law and its saints, that so many heterogeneous elements were best expressed: the old shy particularity, reference to Islam, and, above all, the desire to adapt, to innovate in order to preserve, to innovate in order to survive.

A Suppressed Culture

121 This course is the very one of history. In fact, we found history, among the Seksawa, not only in the obscure testimony of medieval chronicles, but in the structure of the groups, the adventure of individuals, and the /392/ very hierarchy of the sacred. Perhaps it is also to be recognized in the style of their culture and of their life.

177 The evolution and the secular action of the capitals, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Taroudant, which are in some respects two cities of God, came less to modify the local genius, or to precipitate its rhythm, than to add to its complexity. As far as one goes
181 back, it is found imbued with this aptitude for heterogeneity,
177 which, if it is not original, certainly goes back to a stage still anterior to our oldest archives. Although this stage remains to be specified, one divines there a singular propensity to accept the thing of others. Introduction of foreign norms, acceptance of master words, in this case the language of a legal fraternity somewhat sorcerer, culture of defensive strategems, use of mask elements and refuge elements: all that creates a composite, artificial genre, both welcoming and resistant, servile and inexpugnable. For the Chleuh /Shluh/, his very nature.

/392 cont./

181 The outside contribution clashes more with the local authen-
177 ticity, and it more willingly, one might say, accepts it. From day to day the system increases its amplitude, magnifies its virtuosity to welcome. The Mussulman exclusion of usury is going to be fashioned in it with an immemorial practice of credit
[179] with interest. The preferences of the fiqh for the contract, which
[175] it substitutes every time it can for the rite or the statute, are adopted with enthusiasm by this communitarian society, which goes further. In that the fiqh will not only be accepted, but surpassed, caricatured. The milieu has brought into play its prodigious agility of means, its dangerous munificence of gifts. Acrobatic conciliation with its profound, and in a sense parodic, options.

121 One is not sure in fact that a certain play, some incertitude, indeed even this vagueness that so opportunely authorizes bilingualism, are not contrived as evasion. Game aspect, ruse aspect, surprise aspect, absurdity aspect: so many, if I may venture to say it, relief escapements left to the ennui of the honest Chleuh /Shluh/ man, which mortify both his own ideal and the adventure of the times.

The system of the Seksawa, or of another such of these populations, naturally does not present itself as a body of doctrine, even though the preceding analyses have, perhaps to excess, indicated the part of the deliberate. It is especially a technical ensemble corresponding to an ensemble of emotions, to a certain
121 awareness of the just and the unjust. This feeling, it is history
175 that has created it. Now this is a history of retreats and defeats. The decrescendo of hope undoubtedly began among the Seksawa with the construction of the citadel of al-Qāhira, which pushed them back toward the mountains. Elsewhere, with other events, standing out from a general failure: /393/ the one that sanctioned in the last third of the thirteenth century the installation of the Mérinides at Marrakech, among the last jumps of Almohadism. For our Seksawa, these jumps lasted throughout the fourteenth century.

/407 cont./

ooo Correlatively, the status of the woman (1)

1. The essential work is that of Mathéa Gaudry, La femme chaouia de l'Aurès /The Chaouia woman of the Aurès/, 1929. In what concerns the application of the fiqh, G.-H. Bousquet, R. al., 1952, pp. 109 sq., R. afr., 1952, pp. 449 sq.

evokes an "Iron Age" that no ethics of general or local inspiration, no regulations come to soften. Almost always disinherited, defrauded of the ṣadāq to which she can lay claim only after the death of the conjoint, deprived of the benefit of the very dispositions that the family habous stipulate for her use, she was in certain tribes given up to prostitution. The sexual liberty of the ʿazriya, "single woman," is inserted moreover in a system that one divines to be ancient, and where she plays her official role with compensatory revenue and traditional function.

The weekly markets are lacking. Monetarism has penetrated so little up to now that formerly, at Tkut for example, it was once a year, at the feast of sidi ʿAbdesslām, that the commodities were tariffed and the amount of the fines fixed. Grave discord- [171] ance with the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, formed so in the laws, in the play of money, maintained by speculative exportation, the hoarding, devastated by inflation, and where all the exchanges are equally stamped by communitarian values and by individual capitalism.

171 Above all a strong institutional inequality sets the Chaouia
• 181 society, as well as, moreover, the Kabyle society, against that of the Sous. The privilege of the latter, in comparison to the two others, lies in a greater maturity of the state organization, more ample references of the social system to the external and transcendent. Perhaps this transcendence comes from /408/ Islamic universals, with which a balance was knowingly sought. Perhaps, on the contrary, from collective symbols linked to certain periods of the past. These are two plausible explanations of

/408 cont./

171 an essential fact. On the other hand, Chleuh /Shluh/ life does
• 181 not have the violent complexion of the other two. It does not know to the same degree the hyperboles of gentilitial honor, any more than it as spontaneously arouses the analogy--be it superficial with such Mediterranean images of not long ago: the Corsican bandit of honor, the Albanian highwayman. What characterizes it, besides the singularly mature level of organization, is a pious and regulated pace, of more patient virtues, of more complex sentiments, more in half-tints.

171 That way, and in spite of everything that might oppose a peasantry to the townsmen, military vigor to mercantilism, haughty orthodoxy to a no less devout heterodoxy, an airy and muscular existence to the shadow of the mosque and warehouse -- it is of the Mzâb that these latter traits make one think. The richness of historical, legendary, and doctrinal foundations, a double vocation that is spiritual and trade, the precision of the play of its subgroups, qbâil, within communities, a juridical organization balanced between corps, recorded by writing, rich in jurisprudences burst forth there (1).

1. L. Milliot, "Recueil de délibérations des djemâ^{c} a-s du Mzab /Collection of deliberations of the djemâ^{c} a-s of the Mzab/," R. E. I., 1930, p. 193.

The Mzâb thus offers several of the aspects that have appeared to us both constitutive of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society and distinctive from it in comparison to other Berbère /Berber/ societes. This time, however, institutional superiority is not on the Chleuh side.
000 What one can surmise, through too rare documents, of the functioning of the Mozabite ittifâqât proclaim a surprising success. The cities are governed by a consistory that is both senate, because of the meeting of the qbîla delegates, and moral magistery because of the presence of clerks. A jurisprudence as attentive in regulating the equilibrium of the families as in censoring the mores or in resolving the problems of the hour has left us its

000 /416 cont./

hagiology, which could have been a rich repository, nor the popular poetry reflected by any development the equilibrium of the ikhs-s, so essential to the life of the canton, and the meaning of which is so necessary to one who wishes to comprehend it. One is also struck by the relative poverty of the hagiology in personal saints and ancestors. A zone of leveling or of annulation drives back into antiquity everything that one might conjecture about the constructions of an agnatic genius. And perhaps there has never been any of these constructions. Society of gentes, one might say, but whose heroic phase is lacking (2).

> 2. We are straying here, at least for the Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, from the nevertheless very suggestive ideas of Vidal de La Blache, this masterly exegetist of the Mediterranean, for whom the Berbère /Berber/ societies represent a stage in which there is not yet synoecism, and which by that especially differ from the classical societies, Principes de géographie humaine, 1922, pp. 186 sq.

613 181 Either it had never been, or it ceased to live in the hearts of the descendants and no longer speaks to the imagination. Individualism reigns even in the bosom of the house. It restricts paternal authority, makes acquisitive aspects predominate in marriage, precisely delimits the feminine autonomy, resolves the union of the couple in punctilious co-operationalism. Victim of its conquests, and even more of its permanent menace, the ikhs has suffered, from the fact of the commune, even more serious defeats. If analysis discloses, confronting the familial conservatism and the symmetries of the agrarian order, an individuation of rights that finds obstacles neither in theory nor in practice, is it not that the tension between the two orders of forces serves the vitality of the group?

/446/

Original Characteristics of the Chleuh /Shluh/ System

181

Since it is necessary to begin with working hypotheses, some search in the Haut-Atlas, if not for the primitive, at least for the archaic and the spontaneous. But what have we found there? A mature society subjected to foreign influences, but re-establishing itself by a continual effort. A system with opinionated consciousness, in which comportments are organized, and are disguised even more than they are expressed. A construction contrasting with the mediocrity of the economic bases. This surpassing of the physical by the human, and almost this contrast between the one and the other, are characteristic. When one eliminates, as we have attempted to do, everything that this culture has in common with its North African neighbors, there justly remains to it in its own right a breadth going beyond the suggestions of the milieu, and an integration capable of putting one on the wrong scent concerning the variety of the constitutive elements.

The institutions of the Chleuh /Shluh/ rise by levels of depth, which imposes on the analysis its being diversified (1).

1. A Varagnac, "Cultures dissociées et cultures homogènes /Dissociated cultures and homogeneous cultures/," Ann. Histo. soc., 1945, t. II, pp. 94 sq., views that in certain respects join those of G. Gurvitch on the sociologie en profondeur /sociology in depth/.

Nevertheless, in North Africa such a structure has the peculiarity that, more or less manifest or hidden, according to the geographical province or the genre of phenomenon, it forms facts of different age, origin, character, and sometimes of a completely different tendency. It thus reveals a violent history whose contributions are irregularly arranged. The indications that it offers to knowledge, sentiment, or action are opposed to one another. The grasps of it are multiple and deceptive. This is why the Chleuhs /Shluh/, in whom this specious intelligibility is carried to its height, have been able, almost as justly, to be taken for ancient

/446 cont./

181 or modern, adepts of oriental universalism or obstinate champions of a custom, anarchic uprooted ones or believers in a patriarchal tradition.

The visage of this society is therefore often only falsehood or alibi. It is deciphered only by reference to the ensemble. But the ensemble is deeply disturbed or altered. Between its parts, the relations of origin, of connection, or of function are neither those that the user acknowledges nor those that the investigator expects. Thus, the repressive law maintains the communitarian vigor in which Durkheim sees an ancient trait (2).

2. E. Durkheim, De la division du travail social /Concerning the division of social labor/, 5th ed., 1926, p. 42.

But is it not this trait that is expressed and renewed in the /447/ montagnard codifications up to our day (1)?

(171)

1. The Kabyle qânûn-s, still alive around 1930, maintained at this time a debate of actuality. L. Milliot, "Nouveaux qânûn-s kabyles /New Kabyle qânûn/," Rens. Col., 1927, p. 113.

182 There is not archaism there, but desire for archaism, which opens completely different paths for the analysis. Restitutive law has found special ministers, often outside the commune, and, for more surety, imbued with a learned law. But this is only a façade. Rural life obeys something else. In the middle of the twentieth century, the distribution of water and of the soil expresses a harmony that everything has contradicted for a long time. An agile mobilization may act on the surface, it respects the rule. A gentilitial order remains in the landed property, whereas it has been effaced from the rites for centuries. But has it actually remained? Does it recall a former stage, or, on the contrary, does it not arise from historical initiatives? A co-operative system with harsh calculations is practiced in a communitarian

184 /450 cont./
is madly surpassed. This learned variety of leagues of cantons, of quarters, is in short only a perverted division of labor.

• 181 179 Excess and precariousness are not free from connections with the events that have folded Chleuh /Shluh/ culture back into its mountain caisson of the Moroccan Southwest. This geographical suppression, a secular defensive have no doubt determined the work of this society upon itself. But to what extent was this to liberate in it the development of its own values or merely to exaggerate a general evolution? The answer depends on the manner in which one considers the country in relation to the rest of North Africa. Of that it is indeed an integral part. To limit ourselves to two extremes, we believe there is sociological continuity between Fès /Fez/ and the Seksawa. One could even say that the cantons of the Haut-Atlas offer the most authentic expression of Maghrebi society, owing to the persistence of the cadre, and the most animated, owing to their hyperbolic genius. But history could have acted differently on the part and on the whole.

Does not the deviated richness of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world arise from a general phenomenon? From the middle of the fourteenth century, peasant life collapsed on the Mediterranean periphery. The fifteenth century was par-excellence in Europe a period of epidemics, devastation, depopulation (2).

2. F. Braudel kindly pointed out to me in this connection the studies of Lütge and of Wilhelm Abel.

On this side of the ocean a classical tradition imputes to the Hilalians the responsibility for the same sort of adversity. However that may be, the two shores are once again dissociated. The former takes an economic and technical flight that the latter will not know for a long time. The Seksawa, these refractory ones, in vain isolated themselves, shrank in upon themselves, they, along with the other Chleuhs /Shluh/, were nonetheless carried along with the destinies of the South shore. But perhaps their personality asserted itslef even more against /451/ that which in general

/451 cont./

181 surrounds them and menaces them: Bédouin mobility, the decline
177 of the surrounding countryside, this universal culture itself, to which they have so profoundly adhered. Whence the excess, the feint...

Participation or resistance to North African history have doubtlessly both acted. But which more, and according to which variations in time, and in which context of facts: here a new investigation begins. /Page 452 is blank./

/7 cont./

121 by most of those tribes toward the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the slight development that personal power had taken before our conquest, would render our research there nearly pointless.

Before speaking of the role played in the course of history by the Sous, far away and mysterious, fatherland of the Mahdis and pretenders, of religious reformers and the sorcerer-talebs /public scribes and notaries/, and which is at the same time the domain of independent republics, of mountain kings and great kaids, we shall try to indicate at the very start what the geographical factors that partly determine the life of men are and in what framework, marked out by nature, their existence has been able to preserve a great variety and a profound unity at the same time. Then we shall attempt to show how the peopling [181] of this vast region came about and to sketch /8/ the picture of the humble civilization of its inhabitants, of those industrious and peaceable "Chleuhs" /Shluh/, who form one of the most homogeneous and most lively social groups of Berbérie /Barbary/.

101 133 III. The boundaries of the province of the Sous. -- The geographical boundaries of the province to which we give the name of Sous result almost everywhere from the arrangement of the relief. To the North and to the South, the plain of Marrakech /Marrakesh/ or the Sahara is the habitat of the Arab or Arabized tribes, while the Berbères /Berbers/ occupy the mountains as far as their last slopes. A line that starts from Mogador, in following at a slight distance the foot of the Atlas to Demnat /Demnate/, skirts the territory of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of Masmoudian origin. To the South it is the lower course of the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, the line of the Bani and of the Khela Tifernin that separate the country of the sedentary Senhaja of the Anti-Atlas from the steppes and deserts where the nomadic Arabs of the Sahara live.

To the East the boundary of our region is more difficult to determine. In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, if one stuck to the ethnic groups, it would doubtless be necessary to distinguish the

/19 cont./

133 deserve the name of "Igherm" -- fortress -- which the Ait
[103] Waouzgit like to give it.

This strange mass, in reddish hues, is dominated by isolated peaks that rise here and there in the middle of a huge volcanic plateau. Basalt ridges profile their fantastic lines in the sky, while at their feet large villages, dominated by immense storehouses, live under a hot sun, in the vicinity of sources of water fed by the melting of the snows of spring. It is on the flanks of
[361] this volcano that the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit has re-
[619] mained established for long centuries. Having descended /20/ from the plateau in order to colonize the valleys, the tribes of the Sirwa have moreover mingled with those of the two great chains in the vicinity, but without ever completely abandoning their traditions and their own characteristics.

The various parts of the Anti-Atlas are more difficult to separate from one another. To the east the chain is so worn down that only a few peaks of eruptive rocks exist as witnesses. This is the country of the vast plateaus of the Zenaga and Souktana, whose lands would be fertile if the sky did not already have the inexorable limpidity of the Sahara.

Farther on, in the central Anti-Atlas, between the valley of the Inda ou Zal and the territory of the Aït Abdallah and of the Ilalen, the mountains rise to form the peaks of the Fidoust and the Adrar Waklim at 2,200 meters in altitude, yet on the line of the crests the plateaus extend in a gentle slope on the two ver-
[361] sants. Here again a man's life is hard; the best harvests are poor, and only a few villages surrounded by almond trees prosper near the summits and springs. Toward the Sahara the wadis hollow out deep cuts, and the springs that sometimes appear in their dried-up beds support palm groves already similar in their external appearance to the ones of the Bani.

133 In a country so difficult, the problem of material subsistence
• 181 dominates all others. It absorbs all forces, and, since local re-
182 sources remain insufficient, temporary emigration becomes a pressing necessity. A man's energy is consumed in the course of
[166] this constant struggle; activity turns away from political life

133 /20 cont./
181 more easily, and it is rather through their commercial clever-
182 ness that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the central Anti-Atlas have acquired, for long centuries, their best reputation in all of Morocco.

133 On the other hand, in the mountains of the west nature
361 seems to favor the existence of a group of more energetic and more warlike tribes. The massif of the Jebel Kest stops on its western slopes the rains coming from the Ocean, and from its flanks flow permanent rivers, whose clear waters reach the sea. More to the south the great cirque of the Ammeln and of the Ida ou Semlal, dominated by the isolated peak of the Adrar Meqqorn, ensures an inaccessible territory for its inhabitants. Finally, deep gorges in a broken-up land, summits with strange shapes, like the Adad /21/ Medni, serve as refuge for the strong tribes of the Ida Oultit, who, in the presence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ master of the plain, maintain the long tradition of the mountain Berbère /Berber/ independence.

133 IX. The sea. -- In their mountain territories as well as in
[182] the irrigated plains the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous bend all their efforts toward improving their lands, so their activity is not drawn to the outside adventures that the sea could have offered to a race more enterprising and less absorbed in the conquest of the soil. It is true that the south coast of Morocco from Mogador to the mouth of the Noun /Nun/ is not very favorable for the development of local navigation. In winter the swell of the Ocean
[501] beats with dangerous force against the cliffs and beaches. Several natural shelters, at Imswan, Cape Guir, Agadir, only allow fishermen to use light pirogues. Farther to the South the mouths of the Sous, of the wadis of Massat, of Aglou, of Ifni, and of the Noun are still more difficult and remain impassable except in summer months. So one sees sailors waiting for calm days in order to equip their boats and not straying from their little ports except with the greatest caution.

226 Fortunately, the fauna of the Ocean is found in prodigious
438 richness; a few hours suffice for capturing on the sand with

/52 cont./

538 limited imagination, the Chleuhs /Shluh/ excel in the invention of minuscule poems and succeed in expressing, in two or three lines, a thought full of subtlety, with words whose meanings keep the freshness of life, in a language that writers' efforts have not yet dried out.

[517] /53/ It is during evenings of rest, when the Berbères /Berbers/ assemble in order to sing around glasses of tea, that one must try to understand the soul of the Sous. The "gembri" --
[534] crude mandolin from which the artist knows how to draw muffled and nostalgic sounds -- preludes the performance of the poets.
[533] Then their song rises, penetrated by the beating of a bronze timbal, mingled with improvisations and commonplaces, expressing the feelings of their hearts, sometimes simple, but more often mysterious and complicated like that of the primitives. For us the lines are wrapped in obscurities; nevertheless, they are filled with discreet allusions that all understand; they tell all at once about the considerateness of friendship, the strength of love, and the harshness of life. At the same time there are revealed
[181] the immoderate passion of the Chleuh /Shluh/ for money, the taste for intrigue, the respect for force; sometimes the martial power of the leaders is extolled, but less than the prestige of wealth, and very often in the tales the cleverness of a ruse gets the better of the heroes' courage.

181 These various aspects of the Berbèrie /Barbary/ of the Moroccan South vie to compose for us the picture of a social life that has remained very archaic in its form and that offers us still today the spectacle that the most ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean were giving three millenniums ago. But the economy, the beliefs, and the language of the montagnards of the Sous are not alone in suggesting these comparisons; the study of their small states and their political transformations lets one perceive analogies even more precise and carry us back to the faraway time of the primitive civilizations of the ancient world.

[171] Masqueray tried to show, in Algeria, how the hamlets of the Aurès, the villages of Kabylie /Kabylia/, the small towns of the Mzab presented the picture of successive stages in the founding

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181 [171] and development of the ancient cities of the Occident; likewise, we shall see appearing here, in the bosom of the tribes, leaders similar to the tyrants of the earliest times in Greece, who, like them, will succeed in founding their principalities on the ruins of small, dominated and subjugated republics.

In truth, the deep vitality of the western world at the time of its origin is lacking in Berbérie /Barbary/; the great myths capable of associating the local cults with the brilliant destinies of the gods of the cities have always remained unknown there; one only finds with difficulty in these miserable market towns of North Africa /54/ a few traces of an art without delicacy and from which imagination and feeling seem to be absent. Decoration, the technique of the jewels, arms, fabrics remain rudimentary and seem imprisoned in a fixed tradition that is preserved within the narrow limits of a tribe or valley. Thought alone crosses vaster spaces and the poets' improvisations, repeated at great distances, express the popular soul in a form not always unworthy of being compared with the elegiac verses of seventh-century Greece. But Berbère /Berber/ life most often remains attached to the earth of a village; its humble desires can be satisfied within the boundaries of a canton. Consequently one understands that in studying the political evolution of the tribes there is manifest to us the powerlessness of men to found true kingdoms unless influences foreign to the genius of the race come into play to break the numerous cadres of their little states divided by internal struggles. Left to themselves, the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the South of Morocco know only how to sketch the first phases of the founding of empires: the conquest of the tribe by a fortunate military leader.

For lack of poetic religions born in the cities, which, by means of festivals and games, achieved the unity of the Greek world, it is Islam that brings the idea of the State here. This strict and formalistic religion first pursues with infinite patience the ruin of the ancient beliefs so deeply bound to local life; it gives to men of various countries, opposed by unyielding interests, the same duties and the same language; finally, it comes to

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•181 favor submission to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the recognition by the independent communities of a government by divine right, alone able to finish by its political work the rough shape, always incomplete, of Berbère /Berber/ royalty.

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Chapter III
The Province of the Sous in the Course of History From the Origins to the Fifteenth Century

I. The ancient history of the Sous. -- II. The first attempts at Mussulman organization. -- III. The thrust of the Almoravide Senhaja. -- IV. The Masmoudian epic of the Almohades. -- V. A Berbère /Berber/ organization at the base of an empire. -- VI. The elements of resistance. -- VII. The breakup of the Almohade Empire. -- VIII. The Mérinide domination in the Sous. -- IX. The organization of the tribes of the Atlas under the Mérinides. -- X. A great kaid in the fourteenth century. -- XI. The independent kingdom of the Sous.

*175 Trying to write without gaps or obscurity the history of a province of Morocco in the course of the centuries, by calling on all the Arabic texts, European archives, and accounts of travelers, would be a vain enterprise that the most patient research could not enable one to carry out. This is because the documents available to us for knowing the past are inadequate both in number and worth.

First of all, the sources, abundant at certain epochs, are, on the other hand, entirely lacking at other periods. For example, history is masked in the first centuries of Islam by legends whose meaning and value escape us; it is illuminated at other times, from the beginning of the twelfth century to the end of the fourteenth century, by the glory of the Almohade and Mérinide /Marinide/ dynasties, then is obscured anew at the time of the great anarchical struggles of the tribes during the whole fifteenth century and at the middle of the seventeenth century, after the fall of the Saadians.

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*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al-
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
571 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
182 ent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies: "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
*634
796
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/244 cont./

000 their internal peace, the suspicious deliberations of the assemblies suffice to drive any great thought from the minds of the family heads; they keep them in the narrow circle of patriarchal laws that are the strength and the weakness of Berbérie /Barbary/.

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Chapter V
The Republican Organization (continued); the Economic Institutions

I. The hospitality. -- II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- III. Absence of collective properties. -- IV. The markets and the fairs. -- V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past.

VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.

121 181 171 The analogies that we have found between the political organization of the small republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, of the Sous plain, and of the Anti-Atlas and those of the other regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ appear in most of the economic institutions. Hospitality, protection of foreigners, organization of common meals, mutual aid for plowing and harvests, regulation of the markets give in particular to the populations of the South of Morocco the occasion to exercise, like their Kabyle brothers, their spirit of fellowship and their natural aptitudes for the fair division of the burdens and benefits of social life.

121 343 While doubtless one should not expect to observe in the region of the Sous, because of the slight density of the population, an activity as intense as in the villages of the Djurjura, we shall at least see how the institution of the "agadirs," storehouses that all the inhabitants of a hamlet, of a "mouda[6]," or of a canton use at the same time, sharply bears witness to the necessities of existence in common and a cleverness in collective organization that perhaps has not been surpassed in the rest of North Africa.

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*631 648 The sultan sometimes intervenes, it is true, to restrict the misdeeds of his representatives. Moulay el Hasan tried, as has been seen, to balance the kaids' power by that of the jemaᶜa or oumana, a vain effort in a country where every chief has for centuries been the born enemy of an assembly. There also exists a sovereign's justice, rapid and decisive; absolute master of his subjects, the kaid is in turn without rights before the sultan; if the horsemen of the Makhzen /makhzan/ arrive in the casbah with the order to put him in irons, tomorrow he will be thrown into the Marrakech prison to be punished for the abuses that he has perpetrated. But all the possessions that he has seized during his command, all the money that he has buried in the courtyards of his house become the property of the Makhzen. If the chief dies in office and the command passes to another family, the sultan is also the heir of all the fortune acquired since his nomination. [662] Finally, each change of kaid is the occasion for the sultan's court to receive sizable gifts from all those who are soliciting the succession; the sums thus paid in advance will be reimbursed by the tribe to its new chief from the first /385/ day on. It is known how much this practice, exaggeratedly repeated in the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, at the time of the great poverty of the sherifian treasury, contributed toward preparing the great explosion of anarchy in which Morocco lost its liberty.

565 • 181 Subject to this regime of oppression, the peasant suffers with an infinite patience. He carries out the orders received, pays the money demanded, performs the corvées, sells his harvests green, his almonds and olives in bloom, hands over his possessions, finally, ruined, leaves his hamlet. For long years he struggles against wretchedness. No more tribal festivities, no more collective dances on the "assais," the village plaza surrounded by walnut trees, where in former times great fires were lighted until dawn. Scarcely do the little children still send into space, while guarding a few goats, the short nostalgic phrase of the Berbère /Berber/ song. The only hope that remains is that of an imminent liberation when the "siba" will break out all at once, and the men remaining in the tribes live in that expectation, hiding a growing hatred in the depths of their hearts.